

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
 594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
 342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the
 family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
 501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
 476 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape.
 He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of
 the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his
 property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away,
 if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe
 on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
 • 431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
 574 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging
 presents with one another. When two friends meet who have
 not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they
 do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the
 ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving
 and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give
 some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any
 return, but between equals a person who gives a present always
 expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange.
 At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local
 groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each
 of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he
 distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits.
 When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received
 from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part
 of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may
 arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable
 as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the
 same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
 576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another
 to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately
 do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same
 value will have to be made. As between an older married man

and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it without always expecting a return.

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his friends.

It has been stated above that all food is private property and belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors. Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them.

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage.

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap¹. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join.

431 A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends make them presents of useful objects with which to start house-keeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

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In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

¹ When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-jete* in *Aka-Jeru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

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would, if living with the man's parents, pay a visit every year to the parents or other relatives of the wife. The parents of a child that had been adopted by a member of another local group would make a point of visiting the child when they could. Visitors to a camp would always take with them presents to be given to their hosts. A visitor was hospitably entertained, being given the best of the food, and joined his hosts in their hunting and fishing expeditions. The duty of hospitality is one upon which the Andamanese lay stress.

The meetings of two or more local groups were organised from time to time by the more prominent men. The time and place of the meeting would be fixed and invitations sent out to the neighbours. The visitors, men, women and children, would arrive at the appointed time, and would be accommodated as well as possible by the hosts. During the first few hours, as the natives themselves told me, everyone would feel a little shy and perhaps frightened, and it would take some time for this feeling to wear off. The visitors would bring with them various objects, such as bows, arrows, adzes, baskets, nets, red paint, white clay, and so on. These were given by the visitors to their hosts, and other presents were received in return. Although the natives themselves regarded the objects thus given as being presents, yet when a man gave a present to another he expected that he would receive something of equal value in return, and would be very angry if the return present did not come up to his expectations. A man would sometimes mention, when giving his present, that he would like some particular object in exchange, but this was the exception and not the rule, and the process cannot be spoken of as barter. In certain cases it undoubtedly served a useful economic purpose. Thus if a local group had no red ochre or white clay in their own country they could obtain these commodities by exchange with others who had. In the case of a meeting between forest and coast dwellers, the former could obtain such things as shells, red paint made with turtle fat, and other objects with which they could not provide themselves in any other way. It was in this way also that the iron obtained from a wreck on one part of the coast would be spread over a large area. For the most part, however, as

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each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

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The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose. It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

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The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

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Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bringing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

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Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

621 up and down to the time of the dance, thus giving the man
535 he holds a good shaking. The leader then passes on to the next
728 man in the row while another of the dancers goes through
the same performance with the first man. This is continued
until each of the dancers has "shaken" each of the standing
men. The dancers then pass under the *koro* and shake their
enemies in the same manner from the back. After a little
more dancing the dancers retire, and the women of the visiting
group come forward and dance in much the same way that
the men have done, each woman giving each of the men of
the other group a good shaking.

When the women have been through their dance the two
parties of men and women sit down and weep together.

The two groups remain camped together for a few days,
spending the time in hunting and dancing together. Presents
● 431 are exchanged, as at the ordinary meetings of different groups.
The men of the two groups exchange bows with one another.

and its occasional performance serves to keep alive this sentiment with regard to marriage in general. The existence of the sentiment is shown in the reprobation felt and often expressed at an irregular marriage, in which the couple unite without a ceremony; such a union showing a contemptuous or careless thrusting aside of an important social principle. 182^x
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For the witnesses, then, the ceremony serves to awaken to activity and to express this sentiment; but it also serves as a recognition on their part of the change of status of the marrying pair. It makes them realise that henceforward the young couple must be treated no longer as children but as responsible adults, and it is thus the occasion of a change of sentiment towards those whose social position is being changed. For in the society of the Andamans there is a very marked division between married and unmarried persons in the way in which they are regarded by others, and in respect of their place in the community.

The married couple are made to realise, in a different way and with a much greater intensity of feeling, these same two things; first, that their union in marriage is a matter that concerns the whole community, and second, that they are entering a new condition, with new privileges but also with new duties and obligations. For them, indeed, the ceremony is a sort of ordeal from which they would only too gladly escape, and which, by the powerful emotions it evokes in them very vividly impresses upon them what their marriage means.

The wedding gifts that are bestowed upon the young couple are an expression of the general good-will towards them. The giving of presents is a common method of expressing friendship in the Andamans. Thus when two friends meet after separation, the first thing they do after having embraced and wept together, is to give one another presents. In most instances the giving is reciprocal, and is therefore really an exchange. If a present be given as a sign of good-will the giver expects to receive a present of about equal value in return. The reason for this is obvious; the one has expressed his good-will towards the other, and if the feeling is reciprocated a return present must be given in order to express it. So also it would be an insult to refuse a 182^x
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● 431 present offered, for to do so would be equivalent to rejecting the good-will it represents. At marriage the giving is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval. It is for this reason that it is the duty of everybody who is present to make some gift to the newly-married pair.

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728 In another simple ceremony, the peace-making ceremony of the North Andaman¹, the meaning is again easily discovered; the symbolism of the dance being indeed at once obvious to a witness, though perhaps not quite so obvious from the description given. The dancers are divided into two parties. The actions of the one party throughout are expressions of their aggressive feelings towards the other. This is clear enough in the shouting, the threatening gestures, and the way in which each member of the "attacking" party gives a good shaking to each member of the other party. On the other side what is expressed may be described as complete passivity; the performers stand quite still throughout the whole dance, taking care to show neither fear nor resentment at the treatment to which they have to submit. Thus those of the one side give collective expression to their collective anger, which is thereby appeased. The others, by passively submitting to this, humbling themselves before the just wrath of their enemies, expiate their wrongs. Anger appeased dies down; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten; the enmity is at an end.

The screen of fibre against which the passive participants in the ceremony stand has a peculiar symbolic meaning that will be explained later in the chapter. The only other elements of the ceremony are the weeping together, which will be dealt with very soon, and the exchange of weapons, which is simply a special form of the rite of exchanging presents as an expression of good-will. The special form is particularly appropriate as it would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go out to fight a man with his weapons while he has yours.

The purpose of the ceremony is clearly to produce a change

861 ment; they are early taught to be generous and self-denying, and the special object of the fasting period, regarding which I shall hope to speak to you on another occasion, seems to be to test the fortitude and powers of endurance of the lads and lasses before entering upon the cares and responsibilities of married life. The duties of showing respect and hospitality to friends and visitors being impressed upon them from their early years, all guests are well treated; every attention is paid to their wants, the best food at their host's disposal is set before them, and, ere they take their leave, some tokens of regard or goodwill are bestowed, or, to speak more correctly, interchanged. Strangers visiting an encampment for the first time are welcomed if introduced by some mutual friend.¹

834 8. It has been observed by ethnologists who have described certain other primitive races, that modesty and morality are not dependent on, or to be gauged by, the amount of covering which is deemed requisite by either sex. The Andamanese present another instance in point; and in the esteem in which they hold these virtues, and the self-respect which characterises their intercourse with each other, may even be said to compare favourably with that existing in certain ranks among civilised races.²

461 9. In the manufacture of their weapons, utensils, and other articles, they habitually display a remarkable amount of perseverance and industry, spending hour after hour in laboriously striking pieces of iron with a stone hammer for the purpose of forming spear or arrow-heads, or in improving the shape of a bow, &c., even though there be no necessity, immediate or prospective, to stimulate them to such efforts. The incentive is evidently a spirit of emulation, each one priding himself on being able to produce work which will extel, or at least compare not unfavourably with, that of his neighbours.

431 10. Selfishness is not among their characteristics, for they frequently make presents of the best that they possess, and do not reserve, much less make weapons, &c., of superior workmanship for their own private use; at the same time it must be

¹ On seeing a stranger at a gathering, it would be asked: *ōl mij'a?* (who is he?) or, if the visitor be senior to the inquirer, *ōl mij'ola?* (who is that elder or chief?)

² Women are so modest that they will not renew their leaf aprons in the presence of one another, but retire to a secluded spot for this purpose; even when parting with one of their *bād*-appendages to a female friend the delicacy they manifest for the feelings of the bystanders in their mode of removing it almost amounts to prudishness. Coarse conversation appears to be of rare occurrence and to meet with little or no encouragement. Remarks on the personal appearance or peculiarities of friends or blood relatives are considered harmless, but if made in reference to a wife or husband would be regarded as indelicate and objectionable and resented accordingly.

confessed that it is tacitly understood that an equivalent should be rendered for every gift. 431

11. Like the Papuans they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless. Their speech is rapid, with a constant repetition of the same idea, and a joke, if not played in too practical a form, is highly appreciated. 522

12. When out of temper with any one they never defame his relatives or use improper expressions, as is so common a practice among natives of India, but merely indulge in mild terms of abuse, such as the following:— 578

ngab-ted-inga tá paya! (You liar!)

ngün-kí-maya! (You duffer!)

ngün-jā-bagya! or *ng'ab-mūgutigpī-chaya!* (You fool!)

ngī-chō-na! (You long head!)

ngig-chō-ronga-lā-nta! (You long nose!)

ngig-pā-namaya! (You sunken-eyed one!)

ngid-kī'nabya! or *ngī-gō-robya!* (You skin and bone!)

A quarrel, as may be supposed, generally results from this style of address.¹

13. With the exception of those who have lived with us away from their friends from birth or early childhood, not a case can be cited in which a preference is not manifested for a jungle life, even after a sojourn of many years at the Orphanage or Homes at Port Blair.

14. Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race "they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state;" and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior. 145

15. More lengthened observations than have hitherto been 000

¹ Vide post "Laws," paragraph 1.

000 possible are required before we can speak with certainty regarding the extent, limits, and conditions of heredity among this race; but it has been noticed that, as a general rule, they have excellent memories, especially on those subjects in which the intellects of their ancestors have been consciously or unconsciously exercised or cultivated in the savage state. > The following passage will afford an illustration of the intelligence displayed by these people on such subjects. It is taken from the late Mr. Kurz's Report on the Vegetation of the Andaman Islands:—
 824 "While I was in the Andamans I was in the habit of consulting people (convicts) from the most different parts of India for the native names of the plants. As a general result, I may state that the Burmans were best acquainted with the flora of the Andamans, but they are by no means equal to the Andamanese in accuracy and certainty of determination. While the Burmans were obliged continually to cut into the bark to recognise the trees, the Andamanese readily gave their names, and I could rely upon their statements, which was not the case at all with those of the Burmese."

787 16. Instances have been observed among them of individuals
 158 possessing strong wills and vivid powers of imagination: as a race they do not appear to be subject to trances, illusions, or somnambulism, but, like many other savages, they place implicit faith in dreams, shaping their conduct in superstitious conformity to the warning or advice supposed to have been conveyed therein.

791 **Magic and Witchcraft.**—1. There are, however, certain indi-
 754 viduals in these tribes, known as *oko-pai'ad-* (lit., a dreamer),
 431 who are credited with the possession of supernatural powers—
 such as second sight, expressed by the term *aramū'ga-tā'rabanga-*,
 —and of a mysterious influence over the fortunes and lives of their neighbours. It is thought that they can bring trouble, sickness, and death upon those who fail to evince their belief in them in some substantial form;¹ they thus generally manage to obtain the best of everything; for it is considered foolhardy to deny them, and they do not scruple to ask for any article to which they may take a fancy.

791 2. These quasi-seers are invariably of the male sex, and it
 431 sometimes even happens that a young boy is looked upon as a "coming" *oko-pai'ad-*, their position being generally in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details

¹ This reminds one somewhat of the disease makers of Tauna (New Hebrides), who are supposed to cause disease and death by burning *nahak* (rubbish, principally refuse of food), and who are propitiated by continual presents. The practice of burning beeswax, in order to cause annoyance to an enemy, will be mentioned under "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by accident. 791 431

3. In order to maintain his status it is necessary for an *oko-pai-ad*- to give fresh evidences of his powers from time to time, for, so long as his companions have faith in him, he is the constant recipient of presents of all kinds, which are unblushingly given¹ and accepted as bribes to curry favour.

4. Sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of these gifts, it is inconvenient to the *oko-pai-ad*- to take charge of them; he then enters into an arrangement with the donors that such articles as he does not at present need shall be available for his use or appropriation whenever he may require them; hence many individuals possess property which is said to be *râ-dare* (i.e., bespoken) by a certain seer, and which is, therefore, not available for presentation to anyone else.

5. If a disaster occur which they think might have been averted had the *oko-pai-ad*- chosen to exercise his powers, they are said sometimes to conspire to kill him, but so greatly is he feared that not a single instance is known of anyone having ventured to carry such a plan into execution. 791

6. The position and influence possessed by a seer are not affected by his falling ill, but if some serious misfortune occur to him, such as the death of a child, it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority. His wife enjoys no distinction, nor is she treated with more respect and consideration than any other woman of the like age in the tribe.

7. The *oko-pai-ad*- is credited with the power of communicating in dreams with the invisible powers of good and evil, and also of seeing the spirits of the departed, or of those who are ill. On the occurrence of an epidemic in an encampment, he brandishes a burning log, and bids the evil spirit keep at a distance; sometimes, as a further precaution, he plants stakes a few feet high in front of each hut, painted in stripes with black beeswax (*tôbul-pîd*-), the smell of which being peculiarly offensive to this demon, called *êrem-châw-gala*, insures his speedy departure from their midst. 791 755

8. Though we may be disposed to question the belief of the *oko-pai-ad*-s themselves in the supernatural powers they profess to possess, it is quite possible that they, like sorcerers in other 791

¹ Especially is this done by those advanced in years for fear of their end being hastened by the *oko-pai-ad*- whom they fail to propitiate.

585 the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as their friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

• [431] 12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c. in honour of the event.

✓ 13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tá-la-ōg*-, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

[535] 14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

593 15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between
851 young people during the first year of their married life;¹ indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,² where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

587 16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but
589 greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō-yun-tē-mar-bar-minga*-). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower³ for her sake for many years, or even till death;

¹ It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

² Vide "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

³ It must, however be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

437 5. They set no fixed value on their various properties, and
 rarely make or procure anything with the express object of
 disposing of it in barter. Apparently they prefer to regard
 ●431 their transactions as presentations, for their mode of negotiating
 is to give such objects as are desired by another in the hope of
 receiving in return something for which they have expressed a
 wish, it being tacitly understood that, unless otherwise mentioned
 beforehand, no "present" is to be accepted without an equivalent
 being rendered.

[578] 6. The natural consequence of this system is that most of the
 quarrels which so frequently occur among them originate in
 failure on the part of the recipient in making such a return as
 had been confidently expected.¹

7. All iron-pointed weapons, tools, or shell ornaments are
 eagerly accepted by the *ērem-tā-ga* in exchange for such things
 as are more easily procured by them than by the *āryōto*:² for
 instance, an adze would generally be considered worth two
 ordinary bows, or a bundle of wooden-pointed arrows; or a man
 might undertake to make a canoe or bucket for one who would
 give him an adze.

428 8. But little care is taken of the utensils, weapons, canoes,
 422 &c., in daily use, and consequently new ones are often required,
 the old, when no longer serviceable, being thrown aside; as all
 their possessions consist of goods which need to be more or less
 frequently replaced, it is hardly necessary to explain that there
 is no accumulation of the labours of former generations; hence
 also it arises that they are not tied by any laws of inheritance;
 more as a matter of sentiment than for any other reason, the
 nearest of kin takes possession of all the effects left by a
 deceased person, and as often as not they are distributed ere
 long among such friends as may be in need of any of the articles
 in question.

422 9. The weapons, tools, and other property pertaining to one
 member of a family are regarded as available for the use of his
 or her relatives, but such articles as a cooking-pot, canoe, or
 sounding-board, when not required by the owner, are looked
 upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of
 the same community; in short, the rights of private property
 are only so far recognised that no one would without permission
 appropriate or remove to a distance anything belonging to a
 friend or neighbour.

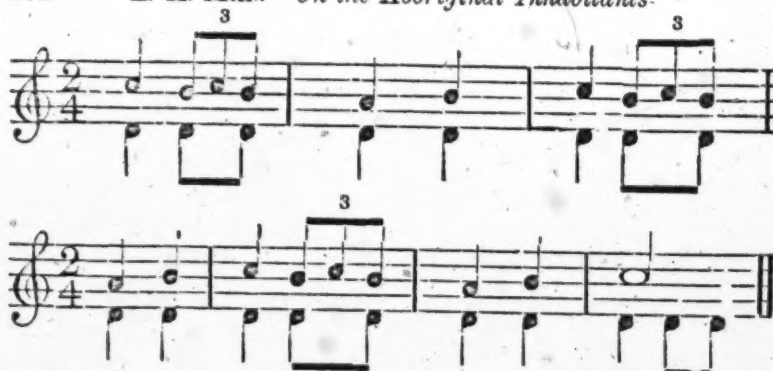
000 Agriculture.—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst,

¹ Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 37.

² Further mention of this will be made at "Games and Amusements,"
 paragraph 24. As will there be explained, the occasions on which they usually
 barter are when they meet for a *je-g* at some permanent encampment.

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36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō'ba eboyū bē'date,¹ (a)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēā're-ā're-ā'reā,¹ (b)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,² indulge³ in weeping together;⁴ these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

¹ These are styled respectively the (a) *ārē'datnga*, and the (b) *ā-rē'anga* or *ārū'nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēk'ū yā lak'u mē'jā?* started by *bō'ra-gud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they would not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

² *Fide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

³ "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

⁴ No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

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no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by these happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenuating marches through the jungle: in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with anti-malefic influence; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinēghē* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle